1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131 tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[2] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarriñe, Cautinche, Renao, and Cholchol (Map 2).

161 There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[3] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

101 There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Mapuche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[2] Latcham, 1924, pp. 263 ff.
[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 24; and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

621 578 871

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

621

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

621 [582] 161 ● 592

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

TABLE V

Distribution of Carrarrière's Population

621
•161
592

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	224

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *ruca* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

J:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which provided for the placing of the Indians on *reducciones*, allotted (in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1869-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1881 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1881-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 340 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1598-1602, 1654-1655, 1723, 1766, 1813-1825, 1836, 1859, 1868-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 60 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1920, 1930, and the last one in November of 1940. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1895. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1890 between 20,000 and 50,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1920 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 20 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Periut y García: *América Indígena*, 1936, p. 633) to 130,000 (Carlson: *Geography of Latin America*, 1936, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 137,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 300,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martin Collió Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bio-Bio as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bio-Bio and the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanians groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Rio Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of *rotos* (laborers, etc.) and *inquilinos* (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with *yanaconas* and *mitimaes* brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as *encomiendas* to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

2. Olivares, in the latter part of the 18th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Cauquenes.

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of encomiendas. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bio-Bio by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e.g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bio-Bio, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kunche); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cuncu with the now extinct Puyu and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzanerose) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranquelos or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

Missions

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[1] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1555, Mercedarians, 1548, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Bio Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chilenos, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

1. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature in Spanish South [illegible] Bibliotheca Missionum, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1930, the first and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SC4 Araucanians SC4

[10] south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 42° S., a little south of Lake
[31] Nahuelhuapi. In 1698, De la Cruz (1698, p. 30) located the *Puelenche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 202) had done earlier, and the *Huilliche* south of them. Pregging's *Poiumche* were around Antuco (1835-36, 1:261). Mansilla in 1870 (1877, 1:5.8; 2:272) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° W. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chileno and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Puelenche* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 16th-century *Poiumche of Pavine*, or of the middle 17th-century *Poiumche of Rondoe* and of the "Pyoumo aboriginal de 1638"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Mansilla are descendants of Mendoza Salvador's *Ranquiles*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or opinion of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Pivenche* located by Falkner from about lat. 35° to 37° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Pivenche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 19th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Moluche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Moluche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Poiumche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Moluche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

[16] Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to six and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Río-Bío and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Río-Bío Rivers was at a very

1-Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 804 Araucanians 804

early gained colonial gravity. Martín de Loyola remarked (1903, p. 648) that after 30 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1596) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the encomienda system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did liberties, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization.

The Chilenians, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 51; 1874, p. 865); great numbers of these were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day Araucanian numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "Araucanians." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,116, that of 1920, 102,102, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 32) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 107,000 Araucanians. He was also told by an Araucanian leader, Martín Collío Montequilaf, that a population of 200,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we accept as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 200,000 Araucanians probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 31; cf. 1941 c, p. 61). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking Araucanian dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The Araucanian-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 34). In Musters's time, 1870, the Rankel alone were estimated by him to number 6,000 to 10,000 (1871, p. 274). Pando, in 1910, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the Araucanian elements, as about 7,000 (1910, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the Araucanian population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing.

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are usually relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *ruca-ruka*, *ca-ka*, *ca-ca-ca*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty

10: Ridgeway E-3 (1948-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

[illegible] they were believed [illegible] and believed that he had talked to the people, and they let him go home. [illegible] did not return for years then. When he did he came home as a Christian hero and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the new sixth cacique, Ankilla, among them rice and sugar—Ankilla Limited was the first Magnate here to use rice and sugar. After Ankilla had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among the people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crucifix of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martin's, but it does not look like the cane now; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Ankilla. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw the land these soldiers ate in our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The reason called. But this ended the wars. That is how the Magnates in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

[illegible] The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still further north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 36° and 45° S. (1946, p. 98). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 38° and 40° S.

[illegible] In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,800 feet. In the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Moliseño, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain the area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Truenos Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Calafquén, Caburgua, Colehue, Pellaifa, Panguipulli, Riñihue, and Pirehueico. From nearly all parts of the prominent snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,049 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (9,249 feet), Choshuenco (9,249 feet), and Lanín (12,379 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

[illegible] The climate of the region is affected by strong west winds, known as pamperos, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

[illegible] Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from [illegible] to three times their when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; Chileno au-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

161 thorities give numbers varying from 97,000 to 150,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucanía, that is, between the river Cautín on the north, the rivers Enco, Pedro, and Ifiaque on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives 67,873 as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

101 144 Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "puro Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu mollfün che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "puro Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the ones of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about 200 years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

142 Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[8] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

101 According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants noted that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

[8] Schneider (1950, pp. 63-66) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, in the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trumpul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 184 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [147] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,102 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuche who remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchants and bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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613 621 36 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 621 167 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation [162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 16 592 Appendix A[2] gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population [935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 622 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[5] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. [648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[5] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

2 [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--- Analyst]

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177 24 433 105 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

[161]

186 182 105 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

> *Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans* (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of